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See page 58

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ROGER WILLIAMS NUMBER
COMMEMORATING THE THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF
ROGER WILLIAMS' FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA
DECEMBER 1630 - FEBRUARY 1631

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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ADDISON P. MUNROE, President GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, Treasurer
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Roger Williams and the English Revolution

*By JAMES ERNST**

The place of Roger Williams in the history of Democratic thought and the Rights of Man is not yet fully determined. A monument in Geneva honors him in the company of Luther, Calvin and Knox, as one of the five leading Reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries. But the English and American historians, as a rule, do not give him such a prominent rank among the world-movers of his age, although two of the foremost American historical scholars, Channing and Bancroft, rank him as the most important individual figure among the English colonists of the 17th century.

*See R. I. H. S. C. Oct., 1929, p. 97, and Jan., 1930, p. 18 for other writings on Roger Williams by Dr. Ernst.

Several authorities on the history of political ideas agree that *The Bloody Tenent* by Roger Williams is the source of the principles underlying the English Revolution of 1648. Herman Weingarten in *Die Englische Revolution-skirche* concludes that the democratic ideas of Williams were back of the principles of the sectarians and the Levellers in their revolt against the Presbyterian Parliament and the royal authority. George Gervinus, in the Introduction to the *History of the Nineteenth Century*, writes that the people's sovereignty and religious liberty principles of Williams influenced the Levellers, and "have given laws to one quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe."

The Bloody Tenent, wrote Dunning, (Political Theories: Luther to Montesquieu, pp. 231 ff) "derived its principles and its form from his American experience," and "expressed essentially the resolution of a body of religious sectaries, the Independents . . . and the fuller implications of the theory which the work embodied were revealed in the political revolution which was effected in 1647-1648 by the Army." Dr. Jellinek in his *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens*, says of the theories of government by consent of the people expressed in a social compact and individual rights of man in Europe and America, that the "first Apostle was not Lafayette but Roger Williams." A recent study of the relation of Williams to the English revolt in 1648 has been made by Dr. Michel Freund, (*Die Idee Der Toleranz im England Der Grossen Revolution, Halle*, 1927, pp. 241-268) in which he holds that Williams is "the ripest fruit of the Renaissance and the Reformation movements" and the foremost exponent of full liberty of conscience, the social compact and the rights of man in the English revolution. Dr. Freund also maintains that Williams has a fully developed political theory set forth in his *Bloody Tenent* and other pamphlets.

According to the conclusions of these writers Williams supplied the political theories expressed in the "Agreement of the People" and other proposals of the Army for a democratic government, a written compact, and religious liberty and rights of man. Dunning, Jellinek, Freund and Gervinus had some acquaintance with the sectarian and Leveller pamphlets of the Civil War, and approached the subject with scholarly methods. Their conclusions deserve at least close scrutiny. It is my purpose to make a brief summary of the references to Roger Williams and his pamphlets which I have discovered in the Thomasin Collection of the British Museum, with the view of aiding toward a more definite understanding of the tremendous influence his principles had in the Civil War and the revolt of 1647-48.

The English revolution of 1648 was molded by two chief forces. (For a history of the Civil War, see Gardiner. *The Great Civil War*. 4 vols.) First, in the Civil War from 1640 to 1646, the Puritan Parliament turned from sovereignty of the Common Law to the sovereignty of Parliament, and attempted to reduce the King's prerogative within the bounds of Reason, Law, and Parliament. Secondly, the Puritans in Parliament strove to win a liberty for their own worship, on equality with the Anglicans. The religious disputes centered in the Assembly of Divines. And by 1644, the Independents and Sectarians introduced religious liberty into the realm of politics. (Christopher Feake: *A Beam of Light*, 1654. E-737.)

By 1641, the Puritans party including Cromwell, Barrington, Masham, Pym, Warwick, Hampden, Prynne, Overton, Walwin, and Lilburne, generally accepted the doctrine of the sovereignty of Parliament. In the spring of 1642 arguments based on abstract principles of government began to supplement those based on Common Law. The defenders of the sovereignty of Parliament were delving into the origins of government to defend the actions of the Puritan parliament. Henry Parker in July,

1642, (Observations upon some of his Majesties late answers, E-153 (20) argued that parliament is the supreme and arbitrary power of the land, "it is indeed the state itself." He allowed for the union of church with state, merely transferring the divine right of kings to the divine right of parliament. (*Ibid.* The true ground of ecclesiastical regimes, Nov. 1641; *The Leveller Movement*, Theodore Pease.)

Two schools of the social contract now came forward in the political struggle in England. Henry Parker and his followers by reason of the compact claimed parliamentary absolutism. Herle (A fuller answer to Doctor Ferne, 1642, E-244) Philip Hunton, (A treatise on monarchy, 1643, E-103) and Samuel Rutherford (Lex Rex: the law and the prince. Oct., 1644, E-11) held that the compact between the king and the commons or freeman created three estates—king, lords, and commoners, with king supreme. Neither of these compact theories assigned any importance to the great mass of people below the rank of freeman.

Meanwhile Roger Williams had been doing memorable work in the American wilderness. In the spring of 1631, he had declared to the Boston magistrates for absolute liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, and agreed to the supremacy of the General Court of the Bay in civil affairs only. In 1636, he founded Providence and by means of a social compact erected a town-government, the written constitution granting sovereignty to the householders, liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, and government "only in civil things." This form of government was still functioning in 1644.

In the summer of 1643, Roger Williams arrived in England as the agent of his colony to procure a charter of civil government. In September, he published his *Key into the Language of America* in which he discussed the democratic form of tribal government among the Indians, the law of nature and the Indian toleration of religions.

Early in 1644 he published *Queries of Highest Considerations* and *Master Cotton's Letter Answered*. In these two pamphlets Williams discussed his banishment, the principles of sovereignty of the people, absolute liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, natural rights of man, and his Seeker religious views. He succeeded in 1644 in obtaining from Parliament a charter of free government in civil things, granting to the settlers of the Narragansett country the right to establish their own form of civil state.

For our present purpose, the fact that Williams founded an independent civil state on the social compact theory fixing the sovereignty in the people is of great importance. His doctrines prior to 1644 should be kept in mind in considering the references to him and his writings by the pamphleteers whom I shall quote. Furthermore, it is necessary to keep in mind certain aspects of the Civil War in 1643:

First, when Williams came to London, the leading pamphleteers were Prynne, Lillburn, Pym, Hampden, Walwin, Overton, John Goodwin, and others. These writers were contending for the rights and liberties of the "Free-born Englishmen and Citizens" only. The freemen were only a small body of the English nation and represented the substantial middle class. The writers agreed that Parliament was sovereign. But the great mass of the people, the lower classes of England, the peasants and toilers, small tradesmen and craftsmen were looked upon with contempt as unfit for civil power. Not until after Williams has been in England for some months does any one come out for the sovereignty of the people. The Leveller movement, *per se*, did not begin until after 1645.

Secondly, the political aspect of religious liberty is less complicated. According to Baillie, Robert Brown stood "for full liberty of conscience uncontrolled by the law of any mortal man; but in this all his disciples till of late did leave the master." (Anabaptism the fountain of Inde-

pendency, 1646, E-369.) In the second decade of the 17th century three tracts on liberty of conscience appeared; but Leonard Busher, in *A Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, 1614, and the anonymous writers of *Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned*, 1615, and *A Most Humble Supplication*, 1620, ask only for a toleration of different religions while all three make allowance for a state church and for a general and limited oversight by the magistrate. Now toleration is not full liberty of conscience and worship; it is mere permission out of necessity or for expedience. It is a gift from a superior to an inferior religion and worship. No English writer in the decade prior to 1643 advocated anything but Toleration of certain Christian protestants, except Roger Williams who denied the right of the state to meddle with spiritual matters in any form claiming absolute liberty of conscience.

Thirdly, the name of Seeker does not appear prior to 1644 in any of the Thomasin tracts published against the Sectarians. The passage in *Truth's Champion*, ascribed to John Murton, 1617, which refers to the Seekers was probably added to the editions published after the Civil War to counteract the influence of the Seekers. (Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, Vol. 1, pp. 259 ff.)

Roger Williams is "the father of the Seekers in London" wrote Richard Baxter. (Relig. Baxteriano, Part 1, p. 76) Roger Williams was the "chief of the Seekers, perhaps the original founder of the Sect" said Masson, and certainly the bravest exponent of their principles. (Masson, *Milton*, Vol. III, p. 153.)

"The Independents are divided among themselves, one Mr. Williams," wrote Robert Baillie, June 7, 1644, "has drawn a great number after him to a singular Independency, denying any true church in the world, and will have every man to serve God by himself alone, without any church at all. This man has made a great and bitter schism lately among the Independents." On July 23, 1644, Baillie wrote again to Mr. Spang, "Sundry of the

Independents are stepped out of the church and follow my good acquaintance Mr. Williams, who says there is no church, no sacraments, no pastors, no church-officer or ordinance in the world nor has been since a few years after the Apostles.”¹

In April, 1644, Reverend Thomas Hill preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, referring in this manner to the followers of Roger Williams:

“We hear of others who question the Truth of our Church and our ministry . . . Yes we hear of some grown to the desperate height. . . . flattering us with hope of New Apostles and glorious discoveries by them. Hereby religion is much mangled and well-meaning minds not a little distracted which way to take.”²

The statement of Richard Baxter, supplemented by the allusion of Baillie and others, makes it almost certain that Roger Williams was the founder of the Seekers. He never denied the charge; nor has any other man been named as the founder of the sect. Ephraim Paget in his *Heresiography* remarked, “many have wrangled so long about the church that at last they have quite lost it, and go under the name of Expecters and Seekers; . . . some of them affirm the church to be in the wilderness, and they are seeking for it there; others say it is in the Smoke of the temple, and that they are grouping for it there,—where I leave them praying to God.”

Soon after Williams arrived in London in the summer of 1643, he began to attend and hold religious meetings with other radical spirits who were later to spread his Seeker views and his political ideas to the farthest corners of England and into Wales:

“Through Erbury, his old schoolmaster, Morgan Lloyd came to know of the new doctrine of Roger Williams,”

¹Robert Baillie, Letters, Vol. II, pp. 191, 212.

²The good old way, God’s way. E-48.

according to a Welsh writer. "When Morgan Lloyd was in London, at the end of the year of 1643, Roger Williams was there on a visit from America. While he remained in the capitol, he used to hold religious meetings with Simpson, Feake and others, and there is strong reason to believe that Erbury belonged to this brotherhood. In a book written by one of the ministers of the Independents in Wales, Mr. Henry Niccols, against Erbury, the latter is accused of being a disciple of Roger Williams. . . .

"After the departure of Roger Williams from England, in the end of the summer of 1644, his companions continued to harbor his opinions on freedom of conscience and the disjunction of church and state. If Morgan Lloyd did not meet with Roger Williams himself we know that he spent much time in the company of his disciples Erbury, Harrison, Simpson, Feake, and others. . . . It is interesting to note that Morgan Lloyd goes much further in the direction of Roger Williams than perhaps any other of his contemporaries." (*Llyfr Y Tri Aderyn*, pp. XXXII-XXXIV. Translation by Professor John Parry.³)

"This Master Roger Williams, late of New England, hath taught Master Erbury, who saith as Master Cotton attesteth," wrote Henry Niccols of South Wales.⁴ "Now this Williams was an officer of the church of Salem in New England, who for his many fearful errors and damnable heresies was cast out of communion by that church;⁵ and afterward for his obstinate continuance in such pernicious principles was banished the Commonwealth by the Sentence of the Civil Magistrates. *Gangroenam amoveas. ne pars sincera trahatur.*

³Eisteddfod Transactions, 1896.

⁴The shield single against the sword doubled, August, 1654, E-710. Niccols refers to *Master Cotton's Answer to Roger Williams* by John Cotton, p. 54.

⁵Roger Williams was excommunicated by Rev. Hugh Peters, 1639.

"But being expelled the coasts of New England . . came over into Old England where he hath sown that seed that sprouts out both in Master Erbury and others in this wild and bitter fruit, and that in such a season when the spirit of error is let loose to deceive many a thousand souls in the Nation, whose hearts are become as tinder or gunpowder ready to catch and kindle at every spark of false light . . . Wherein are arisen not a few that speak such perverse things as tend to take away all the Gospel, Institutions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ; for take away, as Master Erbury and Master Williams would have it, all instituted worship of God, as churches, pastors, teachers, elder, deacons, members, public ministry of the Word, covenant, seals of the covenant, viz: baptism and the Lord's Supper, as the censures of church, and what is then left of all the Institutions and Ordinances of the Gospel. It was the work of Antichrist, but to define the Ordinances . . .

Of the sectaries' wanderings Mr. Niccols says, "and truly I cannot blame them, seeing all the heresies and blasphemies of this age, have had the privileges of shrouding themselves under the Notion of New-Light, Mr. Williams. . . whom Mr. Cotton calls the Prodigious Minter of Exorbitant Novelties."

"The arch-representative of this new religion of Seekerism" concluded Masson, "on both sides of the Atlantic was no other than our friend Roger Williams." In the solitude of the American wilderness he worked himself into a state of dissatisfaction with all visible church-forms and of yearning after the unattainable truth for which the name of Seekerism was invented by himself or others.

In July, 1644, Williams published his parting word to his mother country before leaving again for New England, in his *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience*. The last fifty-seven chapters of this pamphlet were devoted to his political theory of the social contract and sovereignty of the people in a reply to the Model of

Church and Civil Power prepared by the clergy of the Bay colony in 1635 to justify his banishment. He addressed to the High Court of Parliament these revolutionary words:

“That the Civil Power may erect and establish what form of civil Government may seem in wisdom most meet, I acknowledge the Proposition to be most true, . . . to conserve the Civil peace of the People, as far as conserve their Bodies and Goods. . .

“The Sovereign, original, and foundation of Civil power lies in the People, (. . . the civil power distinct from the Government set up). And if so, that a People may erect and establish what form of Government seems to them most meet for their civil condition. It is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, than the civil power, or people, consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is clear not only in Reason, but in the experience of all commonweals, where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by the power of tyrants.

“The Gentile Princes, Rulers and Magistrates receive their callings, power and authority (both Kings and Parliaments) (im) mediately from the people” which “is natural, civil and humane . . . The very Commonweals, Bodies of People . . . have fundamentally in themselves the Root of Power to set up what Government and Governors they shall agree upon. . . The civil Magistrate, whether Kings, Parliaments, States, Governors, can receive no more in justice than what the people give, and are therfore but the eyes and hands and instruments of the people, simply considered without respect to this or that religion. . . but Derivatives and Agents immediately derived and employed as eyes and hands, serving for the good of the whole: Hence they have and can have no more Power, than fundamentally lies in the Bodies or Fountains

themselves, which Power, Might, or Authority, is not Religious, Christian, etc., but natural, humane and civil. . . . The very nature and essense of a civil magistracy . . . (is) essentially civil, "both in its origin in" the people's choice and free consent and in its object the safety of their bodies and goods.

"But no People can betrust them with any spiritual power in matters of worship, but with a Civil power belonging to their goods and bodies." If the state assume undelegated power "some Papists and Protestants agree in deposing of magistrates." The nature of "the magistrates power and weapons being essentially civil, and so not reaching to the impiety or ungodliness, but the incivility and unrighteousness of tongue and hand. . . The magistrate hath no power to make what Laws he please either in restraining or constraining to the use of indifferent things. . . .

"Outward civil peace can stand although religion be corrupted. . . . The civil state was never invested by Christ with the power and Title of Defender of the Faith. . . let any man show me a commission, instruction and promise given by the Son of God to Civil powers in these Spiritual affairs. . . None of them can prove it lawful for People to give power to the Kings and Magistrates thus to deal with them their subjects for their conscience; nor for Magistrates to assume more than the people betrust them with. . . So unsuitable is the commixing and intangling of the civil and the spiritual charge and government that the Lord Jesus and his Apostles kept themselves to one. . . .

"The worship which a State professeth may be contradicted and preached against, and yet no breach of Civil Peace." It is "the true and unquestionable power and privilege of the Church of Christ to assemble and practice all the holy ordinances. . . and become a Church, constitute and gather without and against the consent of the Magistrate. . . The National Church. . . a State-church

whether explicit, as in Old England or implicite as in New, is not the Institution of the Lord Jesus Christ."⁶

Williams left England for Providence in America sometime in July or August, 1644. The bold, provoking words of *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* fired the public imagination. Both Houses of Parliament and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster found it necessary to turn aside from their routine duties and breath anathemas upon Williams' revolutionary pamphlet. On August 9, the House of Commons resolved "that Mr. White do give order for the public burning of one Mr. Williams his book. . . concerning the Toleration of all sorts of Religion." Offensive to the Prelatists, Puritans and Presbyterians, it was condemned as full of heresy and blasphemy.

Burning this book by the public hangman was indeed of little avail. A second unlicensed edition was immediately brought out. The reading public was already in possession of it. Samuel Richardson asked in 1647, "whether the priests were not the cause of the burning of *The Bloody Tenent*." (*Necessity of Toleration*, Samuel Richardson, 1647, E-407.) William Prynne says of this pamphlet, "now because all of this rank (who pretend themselves the only Saints and God's peculiar Portion) are apt to cry out Persecution, Persecution, with open mouth."⁷

Numerous pamphlets now appeared paraphrasing and literally taking over from *The Bloody Tenent* the arguments and telling phrases of Williams. Few of them had the courage to defend Williams openly. Two very close friends of Williams had already defended his idea: William Walwin in *Liberty of Conscience: or the sole means to obtain Peace and Truth*, and Rev. John Goodwin in *M. S. to A. S., with a Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, in March and May of 1644. They had been associates of Williams

⁶The *Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, Pages 343, 366, 355, 398, 418, 415, 256, 251, 120, 277, 267, 96, 389, 394, 200, 354.

⁷The sword of the Christian magistracy supported. E-516.

since the summer of 1643, and their works show his influence.

The Bloody Tenent now became the handbook of the sectarians, and the radicals in politics. It had for the first time clearly stated the issue of liberty. It united the radicals in religion and politics under a common banner. Their cause was a common cause—to free themselves from the tyranny of church and state. Williams was the spokesman for reformation and revolution, and he said the appropriate things. The Independents did not accept his principles until 1644; and by 1645 they argued that there was a supreme law in the spiritual world distinct from and independent of Parliament or any civil power.

On January 2, 1645, William Prynne opened his attack upon Roger Williams (*Truth triumphing over falsehood*, E-259.) and his disciples, John Goodwin, Henry Burton, Walwin, the Overton brothers, Simpson, and others. Prynne explained how these men changed under the influence of Williams. In 1642 and early part of 1643 these men asked for toleration; but now, said he in his dedication,

"They presently altered both their opinions and practices, crying down the authority of the States and civil magistrates . . . in their Apologies and Sermons; contracting, yea, denying them that very power which before they had so liberally measured out unto them; affirming, that the States had no power at all over their private congregations."

In his Epistle to the readers, he said, "their New Way of government, they are enforced to deny the undoubted Power and Jurisdiction of Parliaments, Councils, Synods and Civil magistrates, in Ecclesiastical affairs." In favor of the New Testament, "they modify and slight Examples of the Old Testament . . . With a liberty of altering and varying to-morrow, from what they affirm or believe today, upon new light discovered, which is in truth to bring a mere Skepticism into Religion; to play fast and loose with God and our own conscience; to doubt all things,

firmly believe nothing . . . Their very principles teach disobedience to Parliament, Synods, Princes, Magistrates, and all other superiors, in all their just laws and commands which concern church or religion; dissolve all relations, all subordinations, and human society itself . . . ”

He asked “whether every particular church or congregation whatsoever be such an absolute, complete, independent body in itself . . . If all particular Churches enjoy their privilege, then mark the consequences: Papists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Socinians, Antinomians, Arians, Familists, and as Master Williams an Independent affirms, in print, Mahumetans, Jews and all the several Sects of Religion in the world must . . . be absolute and independent too; nor may any magistrates, Parliaments, Synods, make laws to regulate, reclaim, suppress, or punish them because they are subject to none but Christ and accountable only to him and their conscience free.”

There is a great deal more in this strain in the pamphlet; but this is sufficient to indicate the place in the movement given to Williams by Prynne who was at this time one of the chief spokesmen of the Presbyterian party. The following July, he launched another attack on the “New-Wandering-Blasing-Stars and Firebrands”(A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious new-wandering-blasing-stars and firebrands, July 24, 1645, E-261.).

“these new furious Sectaries: who to engage all sorts of peoples in their quarrel proclaim a free Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, to all Sects, all Religions whatsoever be it Judaism, Paganism, Turcism, Arianism, Popery, as all their pamphlets manifest . . . Those New-Lights and Sectaries, sprung up among us, who (being many of them Anabaptists have all new Christened themselves of late by the common name of Independents . . . ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the Truth, as those Independent Seekers are who like wandering Stars gad every day after New-Lights, New-fashions of church government, wavering like empty clouds with-

out water, or waves of the sea driven with the wind and tossed While they promise them liberty (the Liberty of Conscience to profess what Religion they list) to use what church government they please without control of Parliament, Synod, or magistrate."

After this scolding of the Independent Seekers, Prynne turned upon John Goodwin, Henry Burton, Henry Robinson, John Lillburne, "a ringleader of the Firebrands," and Hugh Peters, "Solicitor general of the Independent cause and Party." These men are known to have been associates and close friends of Williams while he visited London.

Referring to Hugh Peters, Davenport, and Roger Williams, who had been active after returning from America, another writer complained that (An antidote against the contagious air of Independency, by D. P. P. Feb, 1645, E-270, pp. 14, 21, 22) their political and religious ideas

"might be effectual in some small Boroughs in America; yet it would certainly be destructive in this populous kingdom for since they are come from Holland and America, they have increased our divisions and retarded by the one moiety of time, the establishing of the Directory of the Discipline of the Churches and of the true Reformation; and their separation and their gathering of private congregations, hath encouraged the Sectaries in their erroneous ways, that for one Anabaptist or Antinomian, that was among us, when they came over, there is now ten."

"But many other most damnable doctrines," are found by Dr. Daniel Featley,⁸ "tending to carnal liberty, Familism, and a medley, and Hodge-podge of all Religions. Witness the Book printed, 1644, called *The Bloodie Tenant*, which the Author affirmeth he wrote in Milke, and

⁸The Dippers Dipt, or, the Anabaptist duck'd and plung'd over head and ears in disputation, Feb. 7, 1645. E-268. See also, A Discourse concerning Independency, (anonymous) Feb. 6, 1645, E-259, defense of Goodwin and Burton, borrows liberally from Roger Williams.

if he did so, he hath put much Rats-bane into it, as namely," Mr. Featley then quotes him.

The pamphlets of Williams went across the channel into Europe. David Stewart in reference to Hugh Peters and Roger Williams and probably others, wrote in March, (Zerubbabel to Samballast and Tobiah . . . concerning the Independents, March, 1645. E-274.) that the Independents were

"condemned by the Reformed churches of France, Switzerland, and Geneva." In a preface to the reader, Stewart says, "they came from a farr Country to dwell at Jerusalem, so there are come too from far from America, etc., spreading "anarchie and confusion" and "rent the churches more than Papists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Socinians and all other Sects and Heresies beside ever yet did."

He then turned upon Mr. Parker and Mr. Davenport both under the "way of New England,"

"Such churches your selves hold unlawful, turbulent, schismatiical, and punishable, in N. E. And if in N. E. wherefore I pray, not in Old England also?"

Probably the best criterion of the tremendous influence and the lasting impression made by *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* is the appearance of a pamphlet on April 8, 1645, written by Richard Overton who, like Prynne and Lilburne, was a prisoner of Newgate, entitled *The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution*, "by Young Martin Mar-Priest, printed by Marten Claw—clergy printers to the Assembly of Divines, and are to be sold at his shop in Toleration Street, at the sign of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to Persecution Court." (British Museum, E-276 (3). The author was a friend and disciple of Williams, and Mr. Persecution is taken from Williams' title. The pamphlet restates all the doctrines of Williams in the form of a dramatic court trial.

The judge of the Court is Roger Williams and *The Bloody Tenent*, the prisoner is Mr. Persecution and Tyranny of the state-church. The Trial takes place before the

Lord Parliament, Judge Williams is assisted by Justices Reason, Humanity, and Conformity.

Jury of Life and Death are: Creation, Gospel, Politique-Power, State-Policy, National-Loyalty, Liberty of Subject, Innocent Blood, Good-Samaritan, Truth and Peace, Order, Light of Nature, Day of Judgment—Persecutor is God's Vengeance. Witnesses are Christian, Martyrs, Liberty of Conscience. Defendants are Sir Symon Synod and Sir John Presbyter.

Sir Symon Synod is dissatisfied with the jury, and proposes to have a new jury selected, made up of these men: Satan, Antichrist, Spanish-Inquisition, Counsel-of-Trent, High-Commission, Assembly of Divines, Rude Multitude, Sir John Presbyter, Scotch Government, False Prophets, Ecclesiastical supremacy, Pontifical revenues, but failed in the attempt. For Judge Roger Williams perceived their evil doings, and after an argument the judge says, "Sir Symon I cannot in Equity permit such unworthy Persons to be on the Jury, only Mr. Assembly of Divines, Sir John Presbyter, and Mr. Scotch-government are commanded to attend Court for the service of the King."

Mr. Persecution is then sworn in. Meanwhile Sir Symon tries to kill off the jury by stealth and wiles, but is discovered by the sergeant of the Court.

The Trial has for its material, ideas taken from *The Bloody Tenent*, and the record of the trial covers about forty pages. The name of Mr. Williams and *The Bloody Tenent* appear repeatedly; even *Master Cotton's Letter Answered* by Williams is referred to several times. Mr. Overton makes a few references to Mr. Cotton's *Keys* and his letter to Roger Williams. The preface to the reader refers to John Goodwin, Williams and *The Bloody Tenent*, after these words,

"We desire Liberty of Conscience; that we behaving ourselves peaceably in the commonwealth and yielding due obedience to the civil magistrate (to whom we acknowledge ourselves subject in our goods and bodies . . . may

have liberty to worship the Lord according to that Light revealed unto us."

Gaffer Liberty of Conscience is put on the stand and speaks in the name of Williams and *The Bloody Tenent*, page 22,

"Mr. Truth and Peace speaking . . . Much could I say against the prisoner to witness the verity of the Indictment, but for brevity sake, I shall refer you to the discovery I have made of his Impiety, Treason, Blood-shed, etc., in the Book entitled *The Bloody Tenent*."

After thirty-nine pages of witnessing, Mr. Persecution pleads guilty. He begs the judge for mercy. The judge, Mr. Williams, replies, "No, Persecution, No! prepare to hear thy sentence." But before the sentence is pronounced, a letter arrives from Sir Symon Synod and Sir John Presbyter to their friend Justice Conformity begging him to suspend sentence of Persecution until Presbyterianism is established over England. The letter closes,

"Woe unto those Anabaptists, Brownists, etc., those cursed Heretics, for those Presbyterian Friends expect but the word of command to devour them up: But Mr. Williams, all this will come to nothing, if the Prisoner be put to death, you see those Sectaries have had such freedom of speech that my son Jack and I can do no good; now, there being not such a considerable person in this Country as yourself to prevail, We therefore charge you, as you hope to be a Judge fail not at his dead lift for your Ears; indeed he's in your debt, but he vows by your *fiat justitia*, that if you prevail, he'll provide you a pair of better and longer, than ever you had. Hereof fail not, and we shall not be backward to answer your deserts, when, we and the Parliament, shall be commenced."

Just Reason now came forward to plead with Judge Williams, "My Lord, you may easily perceive, how they would pinch your Lordships nose with a pair of Scotch-Spectacles, and fix a pair of long Synodian Ears unto your Lordship's head, that your Lordship might see nothing

but Blue-Caps, hear nothing but Synodian Thunder; but I hope your Honor is thoroughly sensible thereof; yet least your Lordship's Innocency and honest endeavors for the general and equal Rights and Liberties of the Common People, should be circumvented by their policy, I shall . . . present the cunning insinuations and subtle fictions of Just—as Conformity in their true shape . . .”

When Just Reason had finished his laying bare the cunning of Conformity, Judge Roger Williams rose to address the Court and give the sentence,

“With much patience this Court hath heard the several pleas betwixt Persecution and Liberty-of-Conscience urged on both sides: having seriously weighed the same in the Balance of Equity, hath found Persecution and his Abbetors with all their pleas too light, even mere subtile, airy, and empty delusions: It is therefore the Sentence of this Court “that Sir Symon Synod be kept in prison in Henry VIII Chapel where the Assembly of Divines meet until the “Reign of our Sovereign Lord Christ,” to be arraigned “with the rest of his Holy Tribe” before “his Highness the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.”

“As for Sir John Presbyter, this Court hath voted him to the unclean, filthy, impious, unholy, dark, and worldly Dungeon, called *Jure Humana*, therewith Arch-Bishops, Bishops, etc.” there to be kept until “the Trial of the Great and Terrible Day.”

The Judge announced that the Court found Persecution guilty “of enmity against God and all goodness, of Treasons, Rebellion, Bloodshed, etc., and sentenced him to return to “the noisome, and filthy cage of every unclean and hateful Bird, the Clergy of Christendom, there to be bound with Inquisition, Synodical, Classical, Priest-bitter-all-chaines until the Appearing of the Great and Terrible Judge of the Whole Earth,” who then shall cast all three with “their Confederates into the Lake of fire and brimstone where the Beast and the False Prophets are, and there to be tormented day and night for ever and ever.”

The Arraignment of Persecution appeared almost a year after Roger Williams had returned to America. It is overwhelming evidence that *The Bloody Tenent* was the textbook for the Sectarians and the people's sovereignty group in England. It is also a reminder that Williams was looked upon as one of the most powerful enemies to Conformity and Presbyterian government while he was in England, and that his influence was still feared by them. More than two score pamphlets, in the Thomasin collection in the British Museum, written by the radicals in religion and politics appeared in 1644 and 1645 taking over verbatim or paraphrasing from *The Bloody Tenent*, *Queries*, and *Master Cotton's Letter Answered*. I have omitted these pamphlet references because they make no mention directly of Williams or his pamphlets, though they repeat his sentences, phrases, and peculiar turn of revolutionary ideas.

Three pamphlets appearing early in 1645 in defense of the doctrines of liberty in church and state are *The Compassionate Samaritan*, anonymous but probably by Blackwood, second edition January, 1645, *Innocency and Truth Triumphing together*, January 8, 1645 (E-24), by John Goodwin, and *The Independent's Militaire Entertainment*, April 24, 1645 (E-278) by "W. L." William Larner. No direct mention is made of *The Bloody Tenent*, but all three quote from it freely. These men were associates of Williams while he was in London. (See also H. Burton, *A Vindication of Independents*, January, 1645.)

Master Ley went so far as to group Coleman and Saltmarsh with Roger Williams. (*The New Quere and Determination*, December 1645, E-311 (24), pp. 27, 28, 29, 106, and quoted from Saltmarsh, *The Shining of a Flaming Fire in Zion* (E-322).

"Sure I am (saith he) [Saltmarsh] that State is most free where the conscience is least strained; if he mean most free in indulgence, by letting loose the reigns to all religions, it is true, and if he allow of such freeness, (as by

his ensuing words it seems he doth) he complieth with the author of the Book of *The Bloody Tenent*; who holdeth as absurdly as impiously," etc., then he quotes from the pamphlet.

John Saltmarsh replied the following month objecting to Mr. Ley's joining of him with Williams as a Seeker: (*Smoke in the Temple*, January 26, 1646. E-316, pp. 39, 19, 25ff, 20-23 gives seventeen exceptions to Seekerism)

"For the freedom contended for by *The Bloody Tenent*, when I undetake to prove his freedom at large, then put us together; till then deal fairly." Saltmarsh is for toleration of Christians only and will not go as far as Williams.

Of the "Seekers, so-called" he finds "such clouds rolling around each opinion". . . For they hold that "there is no church nor ordinances yet, that if they did not end with the Primitive or Apostolic times, yet they are to begin as in the Primitive times, with gifts and miracles, and that there is much reason for the like gifts to make out the Truth of any of the Gospels now." He rejects the Seekers on seventeen counts.

Hanserd Knollys, the Anabaptist, replied to Saltmarsh, the Antinomian, the next month; but while he discussed ordinance he mentioned only Saltmarsh by name and the Seekers only by implication.

The year of 1646 is replete with attacks upon *The Bloody Tenent* and its sovereignty of the people, liberty of conscience, assemblage, speech and writing, and separation of church and state. Milton who has been so profusely upheld as the sole champion of liberty of speech and press, is unfortunately almost forgotten. It is the impious and treasonable *Bloody Tenent* upon which the brunt of the attacks fall, along with the pamphlets of John Goodwin put out in defense of the same idea.

Reverend John Graunt in April, 1645, launched an attack upon the Independents and realized the variety of opinions among them. He condemns especially "general

liberty of every man's opinion," their agreement in "the freedom and liberty of conscience," and the "congregations of your own inventions." (Truth's Victory against Heresy, E-277.) Paget in his *Heresiography*, April, 1645, enumerated forty-three sects, and eighty-six kinds of heresies rampant in England, and complained bitterly of the "heretics and sectaries" converting together to infect one another. His reference to the Seekers has already been quoted.

In 1646 the Presbyterian party gained control of Parliament, and was able to work with the Assembly of Divines. The fear of the author of *The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution* was all too well grounded. The Scottish party was well supported by active and able writers. Paget, Edwards, Burgess, Featley, Twisse, Calamy, Prynne, Stewart, Baillie, Rutherford, were among those who ably defended the Presbyterian efforts and attacked the Sectarian and people's sovereignty advocates. Even these men failed to avert the approaching revolution.

"Liberty of Conscience and Toleration of all or any Religion," wrote Baillie January, 1646,⁹ "is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it. Whatever may be the opinion of Jo, Goodwin and Mr. Williams and some of their stamp, yet Mr. Burrows in his late *Irenicum* explodes the abomination."

Baillie remarked that John Cotton wandered into "the horrible errors of Antinomians and Familists with his dear friend Mistress Hutchinson." This fall of Cotton was upheld, he said by the "testimony of Master Williams, who has as much occasion to know it as any man else; and if I mistake not the humor of the man, is very unwilling to report a lie of his greatest enemy."

About the Indian mission work of Williams, he reported, "of all ever crossed the American seas, they are

⁹A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, Thomasin Coll.

noted as most neglectful of the work of conversion. I have heard of none of them, only Master Williams." This is correct, for Mr. Eliot began his work in 1646 or 1647.

Here is news about the Hutchinson troubles. "Roger Williams told me that he was employed to buy land from the savages, for the late Governor, and Master Cotton, with the followers, a proportion of Land without the English Plantation, whither they might retire and live according to their own mind, exempt from the Jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, of all others."

In this *Dissuasive* Mr. Baillie made some twenty distinct references to Roger Williams and his writings, *The Bloody Tenant, Christenings Make Not Christians, Master Cotton's Letter Answered, Queries, and Key into the Language of America*. He mentioned a Williams Paper on religious and political matters in Providence Plantations and New England; this Paper is at present unknown. Baillie also referred to *The Model of Church and Civil Power* of the Bay Colony preserved in part in *The Bloody Tenant*.

In February, Edward's *Gangroena* came off the press with an hysterical account of swarms of sects, "of many errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time vented and acted in England in these last four years."

"Besides that some errors are vented, even the grossest kind in print, as in *Pilgrimages of Saints, Bloody Tenant yea some of the Sectaries herein their writings published and acknowledged . . . for a toleration of all as Anabaptists, Antinomians, etc. . . . Independent churches admit Anabaptists, Antinomians to be members; besides not censuring wild sectaries." In Part III under the discussion of Liberty of Conscience he returns to the *Bloody Tenant*.¹⁰*

¹⁰ *Gangroena*, Parts I, II, III, Feb. 26, E-323, May 28, E-338, Nov. 28, E-368, 1646.

Of the Sectarians "even most plea," wrote John Vicars,¹¹ "for a Toleration of all opinions and Liberty of Conscience, the high-way to ruinate and destroy all religion and conscience." They use pulpit and press, and "cry-up a most licentious, unlimited and Independent-destructive government of their own ungrounded invention." They include "all sorts of tyrannizing misbelievers, Heretics, Papists, and prophane atheists . . . Anabaptists, Antinomians, Independents, Seekers, and such like Libertines . . . to broach and preach that most wicked and accursed doctrine of toleration of all Religion . . . yea all Heresies, Errors, Sects, and Schisms under that false, subtile, ungrounded and most ungodly pretext of Liberty of Conscience."

Mr. Vicars then enumerated those who are preaching this doctrine in England at that time—Greenhill, Burroughs, Thos. Goodwin, Wm. Bridges, Phil Nye, H. Burton, William Walwin, Mr. Saltmarsh, tending that way, Hugh Peters, "that most pragmatical quecquid in Buc-cam," and John Goodwin. These were known as the associates of Williams in the London religious meetings. Mr. John Goodwin in the *Anapologestiates* (Anapologesiate Antapologias, August 27, 1646, E-352. answer to Antapologia, Gangroena, etc. by Thos, Edwards) of some two hundred pages defends the Independent position, and "Mr. Williams and the Antinomians" in New England.

Into the conflict were thrown the quarrels of New England. Samuel Gorton had come to England to seek redress against Massachusetts Bay for their inhumane treatment of the Gortonites. "Wall-eyed Gorton" won the sympathies of Independents and Sectaries, and published a defense of his life in New England under the title of *Simplicites Defence against Seven-Headed Policy* (Nov. 7, 1646, E-360) To this attack Edwin Winslow had made

¹¹The Schismatick Sifted, or the picture of Independents, June 22, 1646, E-341.

a reply on October 9, 1646 (E-409), in *Hypocrasie Unmasked*. Roger Williams and Providence Plantations received frequent mention; but Williams was well handled by both sides. Since the quarrel did not directly concern the English Revolution of 1648, I shall not quote from the pamphlets. They helped to keep Williams, his ideas, and his social experiment at Providence before the English public.

Mr. Edwards had complained the Independents cry out that,

"all power of civil government is founded only in the choice and election of the present people," who can have no spiritual power to give the state. "Instead of Legal Rights and the Laws and Customs of this Nation, the Sectaries talk of and plead for natural Rights and Liberties, . . . in many of their pamphlets . . . speak of being governed by Right Reason . . . and will be governed by rules according to nature and right reason."

These peculiar ideas of natural rights were not the sole property of any one man among the radicals and natural rights group. But the ideas of people's sovereignty and the denial of magistrate right to interfere with religion as a natural right was held by the writers of both parties as the heresy introduced by Williams in his *Bloudy Tenent*, and as vicious as his Seeker views. Mr. Baillie in his tract (*Anabaptism the fountain of Independency*, Dec. 1646. E-369. pp. 54ff, 56f, etc.) against the Independents insisted that *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* for the release of Lilburne and other political prisoners, was the result of the *Bloudy Tenent* doctrines of liberty of conscience and people's sovereignty taken up by the Sectarians:

"The masters of our mis-orders are making bold to go visit the State and try their strength upon her . . . It is the certain and now oft printed design of some, to overthrow from the very foundation the whole edifice of our civil government; no king, no Lord, must be heard of hereafter; This House of Commons must be cut down, the

Imperial and absolute Sovereignty must be put in the hands of the multitude of the basest people. They are once every year to choose for their servants, a new House of Commons, which all this time shall draw up a new frame of laws and a new model of government . . . if the State be overthrown, then all is desperate and gone, every particular person with all his designs how gracious soever, is ready to be overwhelmed in the rubbish of the commonwealth. It would be remembered that members of the best state are but men and not Angels . . . the perfect and spotless Republic of Plato, may well have some place in Utopia or in the moon, but upon the earth it never yet did dwell, nor in haste is like to do. . . .

The number of Anabaptists "in England till late was not great: and the most of these were not English but Dutch strangers," and "made little noise in England till of late the Independents have corrupted and made worse the principles of the old Separatists," such as Ainsworth, Johnson, Robinson, and Clifton. "The excommunications of one another were so frequent and for so light causes that sundry of them fell to the opinion and practice of those whom we call Seekers; they serve God single and alone without society of any church finding no Church on earth with whom they could agree . . . The elder Brownists and Independents of New England do make it a chief duty of the Christian Magistrate to restrain and punish false Teachers and enemies to the Truth of God" as shown in their Model of Church and Civil Power in *The Bloody Tenent*, page 156. "But Mr. Williams, an Anabaptist long before Blackwood makes it a Bloody Tenent" and cries out for "full liberty of conscience." Baillie then quotes from the *Bloody Tenent*.

Baillie stresses the influence of Lilburn who has now come half-way to the people's sovereignty party. Lilburn still demands the liberties of the Citizens, as distinguished from the mass of the people. The Sectarians, however, accept his plea to include them. Baillie also quoted Wil-

liams on the Hutchinson controversy in Massachusetts as the most reliable source. The influence of John Goodwin, Baillie considered highly effective.

"Very many of the Anabaptists are now turned Seekers," continued Baillie as he elaborated the Seekers' view spread by Williams, "denying the truth of any Church upon earth for many ages past, denying that there are any pastors on the earth, that there may be any preaching of the word, any joining in prayer, any celebration of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper, any Church discipline at all, or any Church act, Church-state, or Church ordinance whatsoever; while God in heaven send new Apostles to work miracles and set up Churches which for the space of fourteen hundred years at least have totally failed in the whole world. Hitherto Mr. Williams, Mr. Clarkson, Mrs. Attaway, are come," and Saltmarsh defends Seekers, Anabaptists, Independents, etc.

Robert Baillie spoke from personal knowledge for he talked frequently with Mr. Williams in 1643 and 1644 at the Assembly of Divines in Westminster, and in London.

A number of pamphlets were published during the year which dealt with Roger Williams and his ideas by implication and extracts from his works without, however, making any mention of him. Several of them having unmistakably reference to him I shall here include under two heads: those written against his doctrines; and those in defense of them. Of those against his doctrine were two editions of *A Relation of several Heresies*, discovering the original Ring-leaders, (first edition, Jan. 3, 1646, E-863; second, October 17, 1646, E-358) and *The Arraignment of the Present Schism of New Separation in Old England*, (May 4, 1646, E-335 (10). The former in no case named the ring-leader of an heresy if it originated in England, no doubt assuming that it was too well known to mention. Under "Expectants and Seekers" he stated "1. That there is no church nor ordinance, nor ministry in the world; 2. That it is the will of God that miracles should attend the

ministry as in the Primitive times." The latter pamphlet by John Brinsley has much about "that much abused Notion of Liberty of Conscience," and has numerous references to pamphlets dealing with *The Bloody Tenent*.

Eight pamphlets in defense of liberty of conscience and people's sovereignty were published containing implicit references to *The Bloody Tenent* without naming the pamphlet or Mr. Williams. *Cretensis* by John Goodwin, (March 19, 1646, E-328); *A Whisper in the ear of Mr. Thomas Edwards, A Word more to Mr. Edwards*, (March 13, 1646. E-328; March 19, 1646. E-328) and *A Prediction of Mr. Edwards his Conversion* (August 11, 1646, E-1184) by Williams Walwin, all four in reply to the *Gangroena* have implied references to Williams. *A Plea for Liberty of Conscience* by Leonard Busher, first published 1614, and reprinted in April, 1646, (E-334. Br. Mus.) expresses quite fully the spirit of the Sectaries. And three other pamphlets repeated verbatim a great deal from the pamphlets without naming the sources. *A Defiance against all Arbitrary Usurpation*, (Anonymous, Sept. 9, 1646. E-353) used the Williams phraseology; *Conformity's Deformity*, in a dialogue between Conformity and Conscience, (Oct. 26, 1646. E-358) by Henry Burton, a close friend of Williams, imitates Williams' dialogue, gives the Williams interpretation of the Scriptures, and takes over his ideas and phrases freely without credit to Williams; and in *Seekers Supplyed*, or Three and forty non-church queries by Scriptures answered, (Nov. 2, 1646. E-359) by Thomas Killcop, has not a point not made by Williams in his four pamphlets three years before, and yet gives no references. *The Bloody Tenent* and his other pamphlets had by the end of 1646 became public possession of the liberals in church and state.

No clearer illustration of how his ideas have permeated the thinking of the Sectarians exists than the eighth pamphlet of the group. *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens and Other Free-born people in England*,

July 7, 1646, in defense of Lilburn and others in Newgate prison (E-343. BR. Mus.):

"We are well assured, neither you nor none else can have any Power at all to conclude the People in matters that concern the worship of God, for therein every one of us ought to be freely assured in our own minds, and to be sure to worship him according to our conscience . . . for ye have no Power from us so to do, nor could have; for we could not confer a Power that was not in ourselves . . . If Kings would prove themselves Lawful Magistrates they must prove themselves to be so by a lawful derivative of their Authority, which must be from voluntary trust of the People . . . being possessed of no more power then what is in the People justly to intrust."

This quotation from their pamphlet shows how much the Roger Williams ideas had influenced the writers. I merely include it to show how far the "People" had traveled since 1643. A reply was made to this Remonstrance by John Meyer in *Christian Liberty Vindicated* condemning it and saying there is "A Democracie being advanced above all" by a late seditious people.

Cromwell himself had changed much in religion since 1643. In 1646, he wrote to his daughter Mrs. Ireton: "And thus to be a Seeker is to be of the best sect next after a Finder; and such a one shall every faithful, humble seeker be in the end. Happy Seeker, Happy Finder." He approved of a like view expressed by Lieut-Col. Goffe, in his speech to the Army Council, in 1647.

On March 9, 1647, William Prynne returned to his attack upon Dell, H. Burton, J. Goodwin, Lilburn, Overton, and Williams, using the formula "Lives, Liberties and Estates." These men have one theme, according to Prynne.

"Liberty of Conscience, they preach for, write for, fight for," to introduce "Anarchy, Libertinism, impart to all Heretics, Blasphemers, Seducers, Malefactors, how pernicious soever, to let corrupt nature and graceless Heresie loose to take their full swing and plunge men into all sorts

of wickedness, crimes, villainies, outrages with impunity in this world

"The Independents in New-England itself, as Master Cotton, Master Hooker, and others, are of the same judgment, and *de facto* banished Master Williams, Mistress Hutchinson, and other Heretics and Schismatics out of their Plantations," admitting "that seducing Heretics ought to be put to death," . . . especially since the publishing of "*A Bloody Tenent*" . . . now because all of this rank (who pretend themselves the only Saints and God's peculiar Portion) are apt to cry out, Persecution, Persecution, with open mouth."¹²

Hell Broke Loose, a catalogue of errors, heresies and blasphemies, appeared on the same day (British Mus. E-378), giving extracts from *The Bloody Tenent* and *Queries of Highest Consideration*, grouping Williams with Samuel Gorton, Clarkson, J. Goodwin, and Salt-marsh. And on May 20, appeared a pamphlet by "S. R." propounding fifty questions to the Assembly of Divines. (Fifty questions propounded to the Assembly to answer by Scriptures. May 20, 1647, E-388.) Most of the arguments were lifted bodily from the *Bloody Tenent*, even to their Scripture references; the clearest examples are questions 49 and 50. No references are made to any of the authors from whose works he got his questions.

Reverend John Cotton of Boston gave aid and comfort to the spread of the Roger Williams ideas, by the publication at this critical moment of his *The Bloody Tenent Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb*, May 15, 1647, in reply to *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* and the three other pamphlets by Williams, and in answer to the reports Williams spread about New England during his stay in London, such as his conversations reported by Baillie, Edwards, Goodwin and others. Cotton defended

¹²The Sword of the Christian magistrate supported, March 9, 1646, E-516, pp. 83, 97, 152, 168.

and explained the banishment of Williams from the Bay; refuted the charges against and defended the actions of the Bay Theocracy condemned by Gorton, Williams, and others whom they banished; attacked Williams and the Providence Plantations for their religious and civil liberties; stressed the blasphemies and rebelliousness and quarrelsomeness of Williams in not obeying the church-elders of Boston; attacked Williams for being a Seeker and a fomentor of revolution. The honesty and integrity of Cotton is questionable, and his motives were indeed sinister—this is best illustrated in his giving the lie direct to Williams for saying that the people of New England had not done an Indian missionary work when they claimed to have come for that purpose. In 1646 Rev. John Eliot began his missionary work; Williams spoke and wrote his charges against the Bay Church in 1643 and 1644. The action of Cotton shows his unscrupulousness for his party. Fortunately, he was not believed in England by such men as Baillie, Edwards, Rutherford, Burgess, men who attack Williams principles as vicious, yet believed his word over against that of John Cotton. That is significant in the study of the life of Williams. Cotton's entire pamphlet is against Williams and his principle; only a few words of it are here needed,

"Mr. Williams hath taken occasion (as is observed by some who are acquainted with the spirit of the man) first to rise up against me (the meanest of many) in the examining and refuting of that Letter" written by Cotton in 1637. "And then (as if, one Mordecai were too small a morsel) to stand forth against all the churches and Elders in New-England, in his *Bloudy-Tenent*; and then (as if New-England were but an handful) from thence to rise up against the choicest Ornaments of two populous Nations, England and Scotland, the reverent Assembly of Divines, together with the Brethren of the Apology: and above them all to address himself (according to his high-thoughts) to propound Queries of high concernment (as

he calleth them) to the High and Honorable Court of Parliament. So a Bird of prey, affecting to soar aloft, getteth first upon the top of a molehill, and from thence taketh his rise from pole to tree, till he hath surmounted the highest Mountains."

This pamphlet marks the beginning of the rapid decline of Cotton's influence with the English liberals. His early pamphlets on Independency had had much vogue. But now the liberals left him; several members of the Cromwell party answered Cotton in pamphlets defending the principles of Williams. Baillie and others still believed the reports of Williams rather than the words of Cotton. Meanwhile Cotton also began to quarrel with Edwards and other supporters of the Presbyterians, and Cotton's star was definitely in the descendancy.

Now in 1647, *The Bloody Tenent* stands, independent of Roger Williams, as the clarion call to liberty and reformation or revolution. Cromwell, Lord Fairfax, Fleetwood, Harrison, and Ireton, among the leaders in the Army, had allowed the Sectarians preachers liberty of preaching to the soldiers, with the result that by July 23, 1647, pamphlets begin to speak of "dangerous designs driven on by the Sectaries in the Army." (Works of Darkness brought to light, (Anon) E-399.)

Sectaries and malignants "introduce an universal Liberty and Toleration of all sorts of false and heretical opinions; all the Sectaries in the kingdom labor with might and main to promote this, in one Pamphlet 'tis boldly asserted . . . see Williams' *Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience*," and then the author quotes. "Numerous pamphlets there are abroad besides broacht by the seducing Chaplains of the Army and their accomplices," quoting Mr. Dell, Saltmarsh, J. Goodwin "and Queries." There are an "abundance of other Pamphlets which cry up this their Diana of Toleration; yea their Army Chaplains have so corrupted their hearers and disciples . . . that the whole Army now contends for Toleration by the Sword in the

Field which their Teachers could never make good by Arguments either in press or print; yea the whole Army declares this to be the design.”¹⁸

Thomas Edwards, who was greeted as “our much suspected friend . . . Scavenger General, throughout Great Britain, New England . . . The Grand Reformer,” in a pamphlet against liberty of conscience covering over two hundred pages again attacks Williams as the chief of the offenders. (*A Treatise against Toleration and pretended Liberty of Conscience*, June 28, 1647. E-394.) John Goodwin is the chief target of Edwards for his influence as a leader in England. More than a dozen references are made to Williams and *The Bloody Tenent* some of them covering many pages. In a ridiculous display of pedantry, Edwards brings against Williams and fellow liberals arguments from Plutarch, Aristotle, Plato, Calvin, Melanchthon, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, Bullinger, Musculus, Chemnitius, Gerardus, Gerson, Bucanus, Cartwright, Seneca, Aurelius, Livy, Diogenes Leartius, Herodotus, Xenophon, H. Parker and others. Martin Luther and St. Augustine were here on the side of the liberals. I shall quote only a few short passages to show with whom and in what rank Williams is placed by Edwards:

“This decree of Artaxerxes had been according to Master Goodwin, *The Bloody Tenent*, and other Libertine’s opinion, such a wicked and bloody doctrine.”

The calling of the Old Testament as typical “this thread runs all along through their works. *M.S.*, *The Bloody Tenent*, *The Ancient Bond or Liberty of Conscience stated*, *The Storming of Antichrist* with many other places.” This discussion covers pp. 17ff.

“Grand Patrons of Toleration, Munus Celsus Senesis, Acontius, *The Bloody Tenent*, *M.S.*, *Hagiomastix* to make void these places of Scripture,” Exodus, Leviticus, Deu-

¹⁸Refers to The Army’s Humble Remonstrance, June, 1647.

teronomy, these commands abrogated by Christ about "magistrate's power *de facto* in matters of religion."

"In their *Libertines Pamphlets*, as *Bloudy Tenent*, *Storming of Antichrist*, *Compassionate Samaritan*, *Justification of Toleration*, *Queres upon the Ordinances for prevention of Heresies*."

And that Williams maintains "that capitall punishment in Israel is in type only."

The entire Treatise by Edwards is a tacit admission of the fact that the *Bloudy Tenent* has become the embodiment of the demands of the Army, the citizens and the Sectarians in England against the claims of the Scotch Covenanters and their stranglehold upon English public and religious life. Three days later appeared a pamphlet with a picturesque title of *The Last Will and Testament of Sir James Independent*, (Anon. July 31, 1647, E-400), who was dangerously sick of a disease, "My body I give to the Earth, which I ordain to be wrapped or shrowded in twelve Sheets of Paper sewed together, taken out of the Books heretofore written by my dear Sons, to wit, *The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution*, *Bloudie Tenent*, and *Comfort for Believers*," and nine others. The palbearers were to be Wiet, Sarmon, Tue, Lambe, Hawes, Hobson, Burton, Simpson, Jo. Goodwin, Saltmarsh, and Hanserd Knollys.

Two pamphlets, one by Cartwright, (The magistrate's authority in matters of religion, Aug. 12, 1647. E-401) the other by Rutherford, (A survey of Spiritual anitchrist, Nov. 1647. E-415) appeared against the Army and Sectarians. They both deal with the immediate civil crisis; neither mentions Williams, except by implication. Both writers refer to Cotton's *The Bloudy Tenent Washed* and the principles of Williams, as well as to other pamphlets which deal with him. Rutherford has this to say of Cromwell and others, page 257,

Cromwell has no "spiritual unity in the Army" but Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, followers of Saltmarsh,

Mr. Dell and Seekers. These men disclaim in print both "Presbytery and Independency." The Independents in Old England are not like "those in N. England," but hold "other unsound and corrupt tenets especially that of Liberty of Conscience, which bordereth with Atheism, Scepticism, and with all faiths, and no faith."

The first part of the Civil War for the supremacy of Parliament and the Presbyterians, covered the years of 1642 to 1646. The second period extended from 1646 to the death of the King, January 30, 1649. The second period was a three-cornered quarrel: the Scotch Presbyterians in control of Parliament with the Sectarians and the Levellers, and the Royalists against both the former. The growth of the idea of Toleration among the Royalists is expressed by Jeremy Taylor's *The Liberty of Prophecying*, June, 1647, in which he stands for toleration in religion.

Lilburn was released from the Tower in 1647, and became active in the Army and for civil liberty. In *Regal Tyranny discovered* (Jan. 6, 1647. E-370) he declared: "the people in general are the original legislators and the true fountains . . . of all just power"; all power of the House of Commons is "merely derivative and bounded within this tacit commission to act only for the good of those that betrust them"; and that it is lawful to rebell against tyrants. All of which Williams stated in *The Bloody Tenent*, 1644 (See quotations above.) These same ideas are restated again in four pamphlets: *The Compassionate Samaritan*, (Thomas Bedford, Jan. 1647, E-370), *Hagiomastix*, or the scourge of the saints, (John Goodwin, Feb. 5, 1647. E-374), *The Independent Catechism*, (Richard Burton, June, 1647. E-1182), and *Four Deliberate and Solid Queries*. (Anon. June 3, 1647. E-516.)

Three men who had been closely associated with Williams in 1643 and 1644, published tracts in defense of the Leveller opinions. I shall quote from the pamphlet by Richard Overton, prisoner of Newgate and author of the

pamphlet *The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution*, in 1645, in defense of Williams, of which several editions were published to meet the popular demands. On July 17, 1647, Overton published *An Appeal* (E-398. Br. Mus.) "for the Liberties and freedom of England." The doctrines of this book are people's sovereignty, full liberty of conscience, natural Rights, principles of Right Reason, right of rebellion, and "equity of law is superior to the letter of the law,"

"all betrusted power if forfeit falls into the hands of the betrusters, as the proper center" and its forfeiture allows for non-obedience.

"By natural birth all men are equal and alike born to like propriety and freedom, every man by natural instinct aiming at his own safety and weal . . . for every individual in nature is given an individual propriety by nature, not to be invaded or usurped by any . . . for every one as he is himself hath self propriety."

Overton, like Williams, has here the Jefferson doctrine complete. How improper to give credit to Lilburn alone. The other two men were William Larner and Henry Overton, brother to Richard; the former wrote *A Clear and full Vindication of the Army*, and the latter *A Declaration by the Congregational Society in London*. (July 12, 1647. E-397; Nov. 22, 1647. E-416) They argued the same religious and political doctrines handled in *An Appeal. Full Discourse of the Power of Parliaments* (Anon. a doctor of divinity, July 24, 1647. E-399) is filled with uncredited verbatim quotations from *The Bloody Tenent*. A very good example of the pamphleteers' method of taking over the ideas and phraseology from *The Bloody Tenent* is that of Samuel Richardson in *The Necessity of Toleration*. (Sept. 17, 1647. pp. 1-22. E-407.) Since space does not allow me to quote every pamphlet that borrowed from Williams this one example must suffice, page 15:

"If the magistrate be a Member of a Church, yet he ought to be excommunicated, if he deserve it.

"Sins of the Magistrate are hateful and condemned, Esa. 10. 1. Mich 31. It is a Paradox, that a Magistrate may be punished by the Church, and yet that they are Judges of the Church.

"If that Religion the Magistrate be perswaded be true, he owes a three-fold duty.

"First, Approbation, Esa. 49. Rev. 21. with a tender respect to the truth, and the professor of it.

"Secondly, Personall submission of his Soule to the powers of Jesus his government, Mat. 18. I Cor. 5.

"Thirdly, protection of them, and their estates from violence and injury, Rom. 13, to a false Religion he owes,

"I. Permission (for approbation he owes not to what is evil) as Mat. 13. 30. for publick peace and quietness.

"2 Protection of the Persons of his subjects (though of a false worship) that no injury be offered to the persons or goods of any, Rom. 13."¹⁴

Mr. Richardson uses no means to show that it is not his own. This is copied from Williams even to the periods and commas and parentheses. Many of the Sectarians and Levellers followed similar methods with Williams, Goodwin, Lilburn, Overton and others; and they in turn from Williams.

By the summer of 1647, the Presbyterians found that the Army which they had hoped to continue as their tool for oppressions was rearing to become a menace and master. Their party pamphleteers began to talk of the Army with reference to "examples of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, Cade, Ket, the Cornish, Kentish, Northern Rebels and their Confederates." The Sectaries "whose religion is Rebellion, and whose faith is Faction" were now in control of the Army. Cromwell and General Fairfax had a difficult task steering a course between King and Parliament and

¹⁴See *The Bloody Tenent*, p. 214 for this same material.

the uneasy Army. The unrest and dissatisfaction of the Army is first expressed by "A Humble Representation," June 4, and "A Solemn Engagement," June 5, under the leadership of Lilburn, Overton, Walwin, and others. On July 15, Ireton made the first deliberate attempt to set forth a political program for the Army in "A Declaration of the Army." On July 18, in "The Heads of Proposals" Ireton prepared a constitutional scheme for the Council of the Army. And on October 9, Lilburn presented a scheme in "The Case of the Army." Civil theories were plentiful.

"The Case of the Army" has perhaps been overestimated for its originality. Lilburne asked for a "paramount law" or constitution, biennial Parliaments, manhood suffrage without regard to rank or wealth or birth, supremacy of Parliament in legislation and control of officials, abrogation of King and Peers. For said he, "all power is originally and essentially in the whole body of the people of this nation," and that "their free choice or consent by their representors is the only original foundation of all just government." In all this Lilburn has not done more than restated *The Bloody Tenent* doctrine which I have quoted in the early portion of the paper.

"The Agreement of the People" appeared on Nov. 3, 1647 and was the work, so it is believed, of Ireton, Lilburn, R. Overton, and Walwin, the authors of the previous remonstrances. "The Agreement" combined the demands of "Heads of Proposals" and "Case of the Army" turned into a sort of civil constitution. It contained four articles. I. Proportional Representation in Parliament; II. Dissolution of Parliament on definite date; III. Biennial Parliaments; IV. Rights of Parliament: 1. a single house, to be supreme; 2. to make, amend, and repeal laws; 3. to erect and abolish offices and courts, control officials, conduct foreign affairs, and make peace and war. There were five reservations: 1. religious liberty; 2. no impressment for war; 3. no penalty for part in Civil War; 4. equal justice; 5. equal laws, aimed at safety and well-being of people.

These ideas and principles have been lauded as unprecedented. Let us look at Providence Plantations in 1647.

Every principle underlying "The Agreement" was expressed in *The Bloudy Tenent* in 1644, and, as we have seen, by others frequently afterwards. In May, 1647, the democratic federated Commonwealth of Providence Plantations was organized. (Richman: *Rhode Island*, Vol. I and II.) It was created by the people who remained the sovereign of the state; they formulated a constitution, erected a civil government responsible to them directly; by manhood suffrage they elected the representatives and a "President" of the civil state. The constitution defined democracy, individualism, natural and civil rights and liberties by a bill of rights, and set limits to state interference with the individual and a sphere of state functions, and granted liberty of conscience. Providence Plantations had a great deal more rights and liberties assured to the people, than was demanded by the Agreement.

In Providence Plantations furthermore the democratic state was an independent State making peace and war and conducting foreign affairs. Here was in reality the Utopia of the English Levellers. Their "Agreement of the People" was a dream of visionaries in England, granting less liberties than was actually enjoyed by the individuals in the colony of Roger Williams. Could it not have been possible that the framers of "The Agreement" had before them the Constitution of Providence Plantations as their model?

The Presbyterians did not remain idle meanwhile. On December 4th appeared two pamphlets attacking the Agreement. *The Army Anatomized* (Anon. 1647. E-419) calls it the work of Sectaries, Independents and schismatics in their great design of "a Universal Toleration and Liberty of Conscience for all men, in all religions." *The Grand Design* (Anon. Dec. 8, E-419) calls it the work of Cromwell and Ireton in their "plausible pretences of Liberty, Freedom, indempty, and security." *A Pair of Spec-*

tacles for the Cittie (Anon. Dec. 4. E-419) calls it the work of "profane and ignorant persons for the ruin of Religion, all Government, order, confounding all distinction of men." "The Design hatched by Philip Nye, Tom and John Goodwin, and the rest of the Rabble." That Cromwell and Ireton are the heroes of the Rabble. That the soldiers were "instructed in their erroneous Tenets" by the sectarian ministers, "Trumpeters of Rebellion"; "that foggy, cock-brained, blustering, Hocus-pocus Peters," Saltmarsh, Dell, Erbury, Walwin, Hewson, Clarkson, and many other sectarians. And may it not have been largely the work of these sectarian ministers who spread the Leveller ideas by their preaching and teaching, rather than the pamphleteers themselves.

Whatever part Williams had in supplying the inspiration and principles for the Leveller movement, there can be no doubt that the work of carrying on the rebellion fell not to Williams but by those who lived and worked in England for the Leveller cause. Williams was, however, able to practice in the American wilderness the principles which the visionaries failed to establish in England.

The enemies of Williams and his doctrine in Massachusetts Bay did all in their power to undermine the good name, honesty and influence of William in both old and new England. *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared* by John Cotton appeared February 9, 1648, (E-426. Br. Mus. pp. 18, 21, 27, 28ff) and contained three references to Williams purposing to question his integrity:

"I have lately maintained in my reply unto Mr. Williams his Answer to my Letter" that I was against rigid separation.

"And of late (through the Grace of Christ) one of our fellow Elders. Mr. Eliot, Teacher at Roxbury, having gotten the knowledge of the Indian language preacheth to them every week: one week to one congregation on the fourth day, to the other on the sixt the week following."

Cotton says they willing give ear, reform vicious habits, are trained up in English families and in their schools.

In reference to *Bloudy Tenent*, Cotton calls Williams' words "such arrogant comparisons are as smoke in God's nostrils, Isa. 65.5. the first born of vanity, and the first step to apostacie."

"Mr. Williams is too too credulous of surmises and reports brought him and too too confident in divulging of them."

In reply to Williams' statement to Baillie that Cotton intended to leave Boston in the Hutchinson controversy, he says "if ever I had removed, I intended Quinipyack, and not Aquidneck." On Pages 79 and following, Cotton tries to discredit Williams' work among the Indians and exalt Eliot.

Another Bay settler who helped to keep Williams before the English reading public was Rev. Thomas Shepard in *The clear sun-shine of the Gospel breaking*, upon the Indians in New England. (March 8, 1648. E-431). He also took part in the campaign of the Bay clergymen to discredit Williams and exalt Eliot before the Board of Indian missions corporation at Cooper Hall, London. The words of this worthy minister tell their object. Mr. Williams reported when in England in 1643 and 1644, that the New England churches had been neglecting their original intention of converting the Indians. This report caused much comment and numerous complaints to reach Boston. John Eliot began his mission work as a reply to the challenge from Williams. In 1648 Shepard wrote that they have twenty-nine orders of agreement, Feb. 1648, by the Indians of Concord, the orders were prepared by Capt. Seward, Puritans using the military to convert the Indians. This showed, remarked Shepard very plainly the good work of the Bay Elders.

"Mr. Eliot excells any other of the English"—this to counteract Williams.

Eliot admitted the Indians listen to him because "the

better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the English, both to magistrates, and all good people."

The diabolical intent of Rev. Shepard in this pamphlet appears on page 31: "Mr. Eliot's conference with a Narragansett Sachem a sober man this year; after that he had taught this Sachem the Law of God, and had shewn him the means of salvation by Christ; he then asked him if he did know and understand those things? . . . He then asked him, why he did not learn of Mr. Williams who hath lived among them divers years? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because he is no good man but goes out and works upon the Sabbath day." Rev. Shepard added, he gave this "to shew what the ill example of English may do."

But the ministers of England were far more anxious to cry down Williams, than ever his beloved brethren in Massachusetts Bay. On December 14, 1647, the ministers of the Province of London, called Sion College, met in Alphage parish within Cripplegate, London, at their London headquarters and prepared *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ* . . . "against the errors, heresies and blasphemies . . . being collected out of their authors own books." The length of the pamphlet was something more than thirty-five pages. Page 17 has the denunciation of the Seekers; page 18, of Williams' errors against lawful oaths with extracts from *Master Cotton's Letter Examined*; page 22, of his errors of Toleration "under the grossly abused notion of Liberty of Conscience" with extracts from *Queries of Highest Consideration*, and *The Bloudy Tenant*; and pages 26 to 35 are given to a general denunciation of errors advocated by Williams. Samuel Gorton, J. Goodwin, and the other Sectarians also received their share of attention. The effect of all these errors declared the Testimony was that,

"Instead of a Reformation . . . we have a Deformation in Religion; in a word instead of extirpation of Heresie, Schism, Prophaneness, etc., we have such an impudent and

general enundation of all the evils, that multitudes are not ashamed to press and plead for a public, formal, and universal Toleration."

The "Sion College" manifestation, says C. B. in his pamphlet *Sion College, What it is*, (May 24, 1648. E-444. See also John Goodwin's pamphlet, *Sion College Visited*, E-425.) is the ecclesiastical view of the London clergy, the Assembly of Divines, and the Presbyterian Parliament, and their "acts of late for suppressing errors, heresies, blasphemies and Sectaries."

The ministers of the provincial parishes in England now hastened to uphold the Testimony of Sion College. In the Thomasin Collection of the British Museum are the pamphlets of fifteen parishes outside of London, representing about eight-hundred ministers who added their Testimonies to that of Sion College against Roger Williams, his *Bloody Tenant* and other pamphlets, and the other Sectaries. The pamphlets make specific references to Williams and his books. In other words by the beginning of 1648, the name of Roger Williams was known throughout all the Mid-lands and northern England to at least 800 ministers of the Presbyterian party.

These Testimonies against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies, were published, and addressed the Sion College in support of their Testimony: The Testimony of Dec. 14, 1647 was signed by 52 London ministers; A Representation to the General and his Council of War, Jan. 18, 1648, E-538, by 47 ministers; by the Ministers of Banbury in Oxen and Brackley, Northampton, Jan. 25, E-540, 19 ministers; by the Ministers of Lancaster, March 3, E-434, 84 ministers; by the Warwickshire ministers, March 16, E-434, 43 ministers; *Vindiciae Veritatis*, Ministers of West Riding, Co. York, April 6, E-444, 41 ministers; by the Ministers of Essex, May 2, E-438, 132 ministers; by the Ministers of Salop, May 16, E-442, 57 ministers; by the Ministers of Northampton, May 11, E-441, 69 ministers; by the Ministers of Norfolk and Norwich, June 9,

E-447, 40 ministers; by the Ministers of Co. Wilts, June 26, E-449, 83 ministers; by the Ministers of Devon, June 27, E-450, 73 ministers; by the Ministers of Stafford, July 14, E-453, 38 ministers; by the Ministers of Co. Suffolk, July 19, E-453, 39 ministers; by the Ministers of Somerset, Aug. 9, E-457, 69 ministers. I am certain that I missed several of the pamphlets, but this gives a fair view of the attitude of the English clergy under the Presbyterian establishment. According to other pamphleteers these clergy had been Anglican clergy before the Presbyterian Parliament. If this is true, can anyone wonder why Williams was condemning the *Hireling Ministry* as none of Christ's.

A Glass for the Times (Anon. July 29, 1648. E-455) appeared in the summer of 1648, giving two quotations from the books of Williams and condemning his errors on lawful oaths and his error of full liberty of conscience. Another pamphlet *The Hunting of the Fox or the Sectaries* (Aug. 27, 1648, E-457) said that the cry of the sectary is faith, religion, conscience, liberty, reformation or revolution. Presbyterianism was now slowly being overcome by the sectarians; and in a few more months, they will be driven out of Parliament by the Army, and the Rump Parliament of Independents will take over civil authority.

Two pamphlets that have no direct bearing on Williams are of interest here. The first is *The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against Presbyterial government*. (May 6, 1648, E-439. by the seven brethren) The book in great length discusses their difference with the Assembly of Divines of which they are members, on the policy of Presbyterian state-church government. The seven brethren were intimate friends of Roger Williams: Tho. Goodwin, Jer. Burroughs, W. Carter were the least liberal; Phil Nye, Sidrack Simpson, Williams Bridges and Mr. Greenhill took part with Williams in religious meetings in and around London in 1643-44. The other pamphlet has

political interest. *Good English or the safest way of Settlement*, May 8, 1648 (E-441. Br. Mus.) shows that the cause has split into the Presbyterian and Independent factions, and the Independents divided into the superior Army officers who

"aim to be an aristocratical form of government and (in plain terms) to declare themselves and their select confederates Free States.

"The other party called Levellers consist only of some colonels and commanders of inferior rank in the Army, with whom joined some few members of the Commons House, and a confused Rabble of Sectaries in the Army, city, suburbs, and some parts of the country. Their aim is at a Democratical form of government investing the power in the people; so that this wild Faction ex-professo are enemies alike both to Monarch and Aristocracy and will be governed neither by Kings nor States."

However nearly that analysis was correct, the events of early 1649 bear out the prophecy. The Rump Parliament formed by the Army under Cromwell, Whalley, Lilburn, and Ireton, set up a high court and tried the King and condemned him to the block. He was executed January 30, 1649. The Presbyterians were driven out of power at the point of the bayonet. In February, Lilburn, Overton, Walwin, Sawyer, and Prince, the leaders of the Levellers, were thrown into prison by the Rump Parliament. The Independents in control of the Rump Parliament were headed by Ireton, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane and Oliver St. John. The Parliament, wrote Feake, in 1654, (*A Beam of Light*, E-737) tried "to introduce the Government of a Free-State" and to "engage the Army and the Nation in this New Establishment, without King or House of Peers." In 1653, the Lord Protector Cromwell "usurped the supreme civil Power to secure and to establish it to himself and to his family" and introduced a "hated Tyranny of a New Edition."

When the Levellers realized that their leaders were

thrown into prison by the Rump Parliament and that their principles were rejected by Cromwell and his party, a new flood of pamphlets came forward for liberty. The women of London petitioned for the release of the Levellers, April 24. (To the Supreme Authority of this Nation, E-551) Three pamphlets appeared with a great deal of quoted material from the pamphlets of Williams: *Liberty of Conscience Asserted* (Anon. March 20, 1649. E-548) by laws of God, nature and reason; *Certain Queries concerning Liberty of Conscience*, by a friend of Williams, Col. Henry Danvers, (March 27, E-548. by a lover of truth and just freedom), the twelve queries are fashioned on the *Queries* of Williams; and *A Discourse of Liberty of Conscience*, (Thomas Whitfield, defender of persecution, May 7, 1649. E-554.), wherein the arguments on both sides are so equally laid together in the balance. The thirteen arguments for liberty of conscience are often taken verbatim from the *Queries* or *Bloudy Tenent*. The other pamphlets on Leveller principles go more afield for their ideas, and must be omitted here.

Two treatises appeared during the summer of 1649 written by learned Presbyterian divines. Both these theological treatises consider Williams as the first and foremost exponent of liberty of conscience and general liberty, and separation of church and state. Coming five years after the publication of *The Bloudy Tenent* and after the Presbyterian party has been turned out of Parliament, and from the pen of two such able theologians, these two pamphlets are a good metestick of the influence of Williams in the revolution now taking place in England. *A Treatise of cases of Conscience*, by George Gillespie, (July 16, 1649, E-564) dealt mostly with the doctrines of Roger Williams in pages 133 to 164, although implied references are made in the first 133 pages. He quoted Williams as the only man who has fully and completely set forth the principles of liberty and of Seekerism. He dealt with the *Bloudy Tenent* by chapters, for example,

He quoted from chapter 33: "It is true, the mischief of a blind Pharisee, blind guidance, is greater then if he acted treasons, murders, etc., And the loss of one soul by his seduction is greater mischief, then if his blew up Parliament, and cut the throats of Kings and Emperors, so precious is that invaluable Jewel of a Soul."

Such passages from *The Bloody Tenent* quoted after the beheading of the King on Jan. 30, six months previously, make Williams seem dangerous indeed. I shall omit the numerous comments of Gillespie on the Williams doctrines and give one more of his quotations:

He quoted from Chapter 52: "if Sectaries and Hereticks make a breach of peace, disturb the State, and do evil against the Common-wealth in civil things, then the Magistrate may punish and suppress them," otherwise they must be tolerated and foreborn—" also Compassionate Samaritan, p. 10; John the Baptist, p. 57; M. S. to A. S., p. 53, 54; The Ancient Bounds, Chap. 1," are given as upholding the same principle.

Samuel Rutherford of Scotland, Presbyterian theologian, in *A Free Disputation against Liberty of Conscience*, devoted no less than 40% of his volume of over four hundred pages to a refutation of the doctrines and principles of Roger Williams, and especially *The Bloody Tenent*. The first reference to Williams is made on pages 46 ff, on the doctrine of the Seekers, and the last reference is on page 410, the last paragraph of the treatise, dealing with Williams' interpretation of Romans chapter 13, on the principle of separation of church and state. This is a scholarly treatise couched in reserved but confident language. The entire *Bloody Tenent* in its theological aspect is in turn subjected to his dogmatic searchlights. On page 403, Rutherford contends that the pamphlet "On necessity of Toleration," 1647, borrowed from the *Bloody Tenent*.

A few examples of the method of handling Williams' ideas used by Rutherford may be in order. In showing that Williams misinterpreted the parable of the Tares, and

after Williams the other sectarians made the same error, Rutherford quotes as authority against Williams "Parisensis, Part I, Tract. de. Legibus, p. 27"; Calvin, Beza, Acontius, Gamacheus, Suarez, Tolmenes; on liberty of conscience, he quotes chapter 40, and then refers the reader to Goodwin, Saltmarsh, Del, Samuel Gorton, Jeremy Taylor, as upholding the same views; against Williams defense of civil rights of seducing teachers, Rutherford quotes from the writings of Parius, Meyer, Calvin, Piscator, Beza, Luther, Perkins, Bullinger, Augustine, Bible, and Amelius. Rutherford attacks *The Bloody Tenent* in the correct dogmatic manner with the weapons of exegesis and historical criticism, making free use of Church Fathers and noted theologians among the Reformers as his authority.

The detailed treatment of *The Bloody Tenent*, published in 1644, by these two Presbyterian theologians in 1649 is a tacit recognition that this was considered by the Presbyterians the most troublesome single pamphlet of Leveller and Independent parties now in control of the English Commonwealth.

The poet John Milton, friend of Williams, on February 13, 1649, came out in defense of the execution of King Charles in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. (E-542. Br. Mus.) Milton restated the Leveller political principles, but he fell far short of their ideal of liberty of conscience. He grants the "lawfulness of raising war against a tyrant in defense of Religion" and grants only Toleration of certain Christian sects. Williams and the Levellers stood for full and absolute liberty of conscience. Milton took a half-way position.

After 1649 Williams dropped out of the limelight of English political and religious discussions. His principles had become common public property without regard to man or party. The Independents followed the half-way position of Milton and the Five Dissenting Brethren of 1644, granting only toleration of certain Christian sects. The great body of sectaries, Quakers, Ranters, Antino-

mians, Seekers, and others were still without the pale of religious respectability. The English Commonwealth was indeed "Tyranny in a New Edition," and a sad disappointment to Williams when he returned in December, 1651.

In 1651, a friend of Williams, Isaac Pennington, Esq., took up the cudgel for *The Fundamental Right, Safety, and Liberty of the People* (May 15, E-629. pp. 38). Like *The Bloudy Tenent*, this pamphlet has an address to Parliament, and another to the people. He paraphrases and quotes verbatim freely from Williams without crediting his sources. Williams mentions Mr. Pennington in one of his pamphlets in 1652.

The *Key into the Language of America*, 1643, by Roger Williams attracted wide attention in England and on the Continent among a variety of persons. It was a chief authority for those who cared to know about Indian life, manners, morals and religion, philologists, historians, and scholars interested in the origin of races, for their information about the Indians of New England. Tho. Thoroughgood, in his *Jews in America*, or probability that the American are Jews, quoted and paraphrased copiously from the *Key* of Williams. (May 6, 1651, E-600, Br. Mus. pp. 5, 81) This section is of interest:

"Master R. Williams, one of the first, if not the first of our Nation in New England that learned the Language, and so prepare toward the conversion of the Natives, which purpose of his being known, he was desired to observe if he found anything Judaical among them, etc. He kindly answered to those letters from Salem in New England, 20th of the 10th month, more than ten years since *in hac verba*: Three things make me yet suspect that the poor natives came from the southward, and are Jewes or Jewish *quodammodo*, and not from the Northern barbarians as some imagine. 1. Themselves constantly affirm that their Ancestors came from the southwest, and thither they all go dying. 2. They constantly and strictly separate their women in a little wigwam by themselves in their feminine

seasons. 3. And beside their God Kuttand to the southwest, they hold that Nanawitnawit (a God overhead) made the Heavens and the Earth, and some tast of affinity with the Hebrew have I found."

The letter referred to was written 20/10/1635 O. S. or N. S. December, 1635. "And in New England, Mr. Williams seemed in other things to be extravagant, yet that he writes to this point: For the Government of the Commonwealth from the King, as supreme, to the inferiors and subordinate magistrates, my heart is on them, as once Deborah spake: and as the governors and associates do themselves take oath of Allegiance, so they have power by their charter to give the same to all that shall at any time pass to them, or inhabit with them."

Americans no Jews, by Hamon L'Estrange, (Oct. 5, 1651. E-643.) was a reply to Mr. Thoroughgood and tried to disprove his conclusions, quoting beside the *Key* by Williams, Purchas: *de America*, Champlain; *Deser Ind. Occid.* and even J. Cotton and Edwin Winslow. The pamphlet is full of uninformed nonsense set out with much pedantry.

When Williams returned to England December 1651 and saw that the Independents were no more tolerant than had been the Anglicans or the Presbyterians, he launched into a series of publications for Liberty of conscience and civil rights. In April, 1652, he published *The Bloody Tenent Yet more Bloody* in reply to Cotton's *The Bloody Tenent Washed*, 1647; *Experiments of Spiritual Life*, a letter written to his wife in the American wilderness; and *The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's*, his share in the controversy about civil enforcement of church tithes. In May he wrote a preface to *Major Butler's Fourth Paper* in which he united with several other men, leaders among the Independents, in a request for full liberty of conscience and the re-admission of the Jews into England. In July, *The Examiner Defended*, in a fair and sober way appeared. (E-675, Thomasin Collection, Br. Mus; and Bodl. Libr.

Bartholomew Coll. Vol. 95 (7) It is an anonymous pamphlet which I have identified as the work of Roger Williams¹⁵ written as a favor to a "Senator" and prominent member of the Cromwell government. In May John Clarke, who had come with Williams, as agent from Rhode Island to re-establish the Charter of 1644, published *Ill New from New England*, a narrative of New England's Persecution, in which Williams was presented in his true character as the friend and helper of the oppressed and needy and a tolerant and sympathetic person, whose intentions and life were noble and unselfish, but who was a leader of men.

Three pamphlets written by men hostile to the ideas and principles for which Williams stood conclude the direct references that I have found to him in the Thomasin collection in the British Museum. Thomas Cubbet, teacher in Lynne, Bay colony, replied in 1653 to Mr. Clarke's *Ill News* in a book *The Civil Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion*. (Feb. 15, E-687) It is a weak reply, with only a brief reference to Williams,

"Yet at least, they must be Disciples first, before Baptized, that is, as Mr. Williams and Mr. Blackwood and others of their mind expound it, Scholars of Christ. And if his Scholars, then of his School, the Church; then of the Church before Baptism."

Henry Niccols, in *The Shield Single against the Sword Doubled*, 1653, has already been quoted. Through him we know Williams had disciples in England. Robert Baillie, in 1655, came out with a defensive pamphlet, *The Dissuasive vindicated from the exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombs* (Jan. 4, 1655, E-234.) Baillie was no man to mince words whether he attacked a man's character or his ideas, and in so far his pamphlet is valuable as an index to the character of Roger Williams. Baillie was deadly set against the principles held by Williams, which he con-

¹⁵In paper read before Modern Language Asso., Dec., 1930.

demned in no uncertain terms. Yet Baillie has much good to say about the character of the man Mr. Williams. Furthermore Baillie gives, I feel, a true character reading of Reverend John Cotton, the politician. Baillie refers to his conversations with Williams in 1643 and 1644, which he verified when Williams returned to England in 1652. Consequently Baillie's reference to Williams as "seeking" refers to both 1643 and 1652:

"Mr. Cotton's scarce straight dealing with Mistress Hutchinson."

"In New England above 20,000 kept out of the churches . . . Many more than half of Christians in New England are out of all churches."

Cotton the inspirer of Antinomianism "still maintains against all the divines of New-England, a complete union of the soul with Christ, without and before all acts of Faith." Cotton held that free Grace came through Faith.

"What I brought from M. Williams was only to clear and make probable the matter of that Question of M. Edward concering Goodwin, other ways the words themselves were clear enough, either of Mr. Cotton or of his eminent friends in New England. I know well the extreme mistakes of Williams in the fundamentals of church ordinances: for all that, I would be loath in any point of fact to call his testimony in question, without a great cause, as here I know none. . . .

"Mr. Cotton's carriage in the condemnation of Wheelwright not fair," according to Winthrop's report of the Antinomian controversy.

"My crediting of Mr. Williams' testimony was not rash.

"However for my credulity of Mr. Williams' reports, there was first my conception of the man's great sincerity though in a very erroneous way, and of his disposition (which without fault as I conceive, might well have been called his humor) even his great averseness from reporting known lies in a matter of fact, of any living man. Secondly, I was the more made to trust his report in this particular

because his circumstantiating of it to me with so many lively particulars of the persons who had employed him towards the savages, to buy for them a proportion of land for that new colony's habitation under Mr. Cotton's ministry, of the bargain he intended for them near Providence his own dwelling, of the means how that bargain miscarried, these and divers other circumstances made me think the man not likely to be totally mistaken in that his report. Certainly Mr. Williams after his banishment, especially about the time of Mrs Hutchinson's censure, was not so great a stranger to the transactions of Boston, as Master Cotton would have him. That a commission was given him for buying of land by some, and some eminent persons who gave it out that Mr. Cotton was to accompany them to that purchase as their minister, I have still so much credulity as to believe that Mr. Williams in this did not countenance any lye, how little hand soever Mr. Cotton might have had in that business.

"I took it for a shrewd reflection on Mr. Cotton that Mr. Winthrop and M. Wells had testified in print how all his flock, a very few excepted, had been infected with Mistress Hutchinson's errors."

"Mr. Cotton resolved to have parted from Boston with a party of Mrs. Hutchinson's late followers . . . Mr. Cotton grants his purpose to have indeed departed about that time from Boston and from the Bay."

"My third testimony was from Mr. Williams, as one of the English Independents (though he has gone far beyond them in his new seeking) in a point which seems not to go one hair's breadth from the foundation of Independency. Williams does not deny more than Mr. Cotton: that thousands of persons in national churches are to be counted saints: only he says that every national church is of a vicious constitution, and that the body of people in national churches are irregenerate. In this Mr. Cotton will be found also forward as Williams.

About the lack of Indian missionary work in New Eng-

land in 1643, reported by Williams, Baillie says: "the only thing which Mr. Cotton brings here to the purpose in hand, is the labors of Mr. Eliot of Roxburie; but that does not meet my exceptions; for Mr. Eliot's first attempt was one whole year after my admonition was printed . . . of Mr. Eliot's success with the poor pagans, I heartily rejoice in."

Baillie here refers to Williams' pamphlets *Christenting make not Christians*, 1645, and *The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's*, 1652. "Certainly Mr. Williams in his last piece catches it (Revelation, 15:8) greedily, and makes it one of his main grounds to hinder all considerable endeavors for bringing into the church of Christ and Temple, either Jews or Gentiles, or ignorant Christians, till that Smoke Mr. Cotton points at be vanished, and after the Antichrist's fall and the Jews resurrection, Mr. Williams Apostolique times be returned. I have oft pitied that poor man's spirit, and have thought him fitted with many good endowments for eminent service to Christ, had not evil principles put him out of the right way: but as long ago his errors were many and terrible, some consequential to his first Brownism, others to his next Anabaptism, and others to his present woful seeking; so his diversions from improving of his talent among the Americans, I conceive it in a great part to have issued from his grounds of Independency, and some other misconceits on the Revelation."

Not a bad testimony to receive from a political and religious enemy. Two more pamphlets deserve mention here. Thomas Gataker, *His Vindication* (June 6, 1653, E-699) made an indirect reference to Williams and his fellow-colonists:

"And sure it is that his Presbyterian Government backed by the civil magistrates among ours in New England, hath rid that Plantation of many Monsters that would have been nesting and rousting among them, and kept them from such prevailing distrubances as our Churches and Ministry are over-much pestered with."

The Libertine School'd by Claudius Gilbert (Limerick Ireland, Aug. 1657. E-923) has this to say about Rhode Island:

"A short portraicture may be seen of it in Whimses Island (vulgo Road Island near N. England, the Receptacle of Notionists) where confusion and profaneness seem to triumph over all order and piety, to say nothing of these distempered notions."¹⁶

In 1671 Roger Williams wrote to Rev. John Cotton Jr., at Plymouth, in reply to an angry letter from Mr. Cotton in defense of his honored father, "'Tis true my first book *The Bloody Tenent* was burnt by the Presbyterian party (then prevailing)." (Letter of Roger Williams, N. C. P., Vol. VI, 1671.) In the *Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, published eight years after the public burning by the hangman of its predecessor, Williams remarked that "some persons of no considerable note nor intelligence, have by letters from England, informed the discussor, that these Images of Clouts it hath pleased God to make use of to stop no small leaks of persecution that lately hath begun to flow in upon dissenting consciences, and (among others) to Master Cotton's own, and to the peace and quietness of the Independents, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed." Such then were the personal convictions of Williams about the importance of his *Bloody Tenent*; that it was a modest opinion this discussion has, I hope, made quite clear.

The Commonwealth Pamphlets in the Thomasin Collection of the British Museum furnish us with a number of interesting data about Roger Williams in connection with the English Civil War, 1643 to 1649. About sixty pamphlets from this collection covering the period from 1643 to 1649, contain references to Williams and his

¹⁶It may be interesting to observe that the name Rhode Island was not applied to the colony until 1663, and that in 1657 the name was only applied to the island. [Editor]

pamphlets in relation to the sectarian and Leveller principles. More than twice that number contribute to the spread of his ideas and principles either by referring to those principles or by paraphrasing or quoting verbatim from his pamphlets without giving the source of their material. From these pamphlets it becomes clear that Williams was closely associated during his visits to England in 1643-44 and 1652-54, with the leading men among the sectarians and Independents, and was personally acquainted with the leading Presbyterians in the Assembly of Divines and in Parliament. His pamphlets, principles and charming address were as well known to the Presbyterians as to the Independents and Sectarians. Those in England who denounced his religious and civil doctrines most vigorously found Williams so "lovely in his carriage" with such "great sincerity" and winsome conversation that they held him in high esteem personally, and even defended his character against the sinister motives of the New England clergy. In spite of the concerted efforts of the Reverends John Eliot, John Cotton, William Shepard and their Christian brethren in the Bay to discredit the early missionary work of Roger Williams and exalt that of John Eliot carried on by the aid of the militia, the leading Presbyterians and Independents continued to believe Williams the one outstanding preacher to the Indians and Indian authority. The leading men in England suspected the motives that prompted the "Sun-shine" pamphlets on Indian missions whenever they implied an attack on the integrity of Williams. From the appearance of *The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution*, 1645, by Richard Overton, Newgate prison, to the *Free Disputation*, 1649, by Rev. Samuel Rutherford of Scotland, the *Bloudy Tenent* was given a prime place among the Sectarian and Leveller pamphlets. Edwards, Paget, Baillie, Baxter, Saltmarsh, and Niccols, each maintained that Williams was the founder of the English Seekers. Richard Overton, Prynne, Edwards, Baillie, Paget, Gillespie, Rutherford, John Cot-

ton and others considered *The Bloody Tenent* among the first and foremost exponents of full liberty of conscience, people's sovereignty, separation of church and state, and natural rights of man. By 1647, *The Bloody Tenent* has, independently of Roger Williams, become the textbook of the Sectarians and Levellers in their struggle for political rights and liberties. The principles contained in Lilburne's "The Case of the Army," and those expressed in "The Heads of Proposals" and "The Agreement of the People" in 1647, had already been stated by Williams in the *Bloody Tenent* of 1644 and had been actually incorporated in a democratic federal Commonwealth with a written social compact organized by consent of the people and granting individual rights, limiting the functions of the civil government with full liberty of conscience and worship and freedom of press, speech, disputes, debates and assemblage—all these ideals and principles of the Leveller visionaries in England had already become a reality in May, 1647, in Providence Plantations in the American wilderness. It has yet to be disproved that the Providence Plantations was not the model for the "Agreement of the People" on December 14, 1647, prepared by the close friends of Roger Williams. Fifteen separate pamphlets signed by about 800 English clergymen of the Presbyterian establishments in England and published in 1648, denounced the religious and political principles of Williams contained in *Master Cotton's Letter Examined*, *Queries of Highest Consideration*, and *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience*. And finally, there was a distinct change in the attitude, treatment and phraseology of the Sectarian and Independent pamphlets in the beginning of 1644, about four or five months after the arrival of Williams in London.

The question of whether Roger Williams sowed the seeds of the revolution of 1648 is not so easily answered. The work of the other pamphleteers like Prynne, John Goodwin, the Burton brothers, the Overton brothers, Lil-

burne and others can not be discounted. The Levellers of 1647-48 were said to have had a sword in one hand and a Lilburne pamphlet in the other. Lilburne changed his doctrine of the sovereignty of Parliament to people's sovereignty after 1643; through whose influence did that change come? May it not be that, after all, Roger Williams was the apostle of the Revolution of 1648, by his associations in England, and more especially by the influence of *The Bloudy Tenent*?

Notes

THE SLATER COLLECTION

At the October meeting of the Society, Mr. A. B. Slater formally presented the Slater Collection of Providence Stamps to the Society. The collection is not only a collection of the stamps issued by the Providence postmaster in 1846 and 1847, together with specimens of restrikes, facsimiles and counterfeits, but is also a collection of pictures and data which throw light upon the history of the Providence stamps. These historical notes are so extensive, exhaustive and detailed that the collection has become of great historical interest in addition to its philatelic importance.

Mr. Slater has made the results of his years of study and experience available to others by the publication of his brochure *The Stamps of the Providence R. I. Postmaster 1846-1847*, a profusely illustrated, concise and conveniently arranged compilation of 104 pages which contains in printed form the data which comprises the collection. This brochure might well serve as a model for historical monographs along lines not necessarily in any way connected with philately.



CAMLET WORN BY RICHARD SMITH, JR. OF COCUMCUSOC, R. I.,
WHO DIED IN 1692

In the Society's Museum.

ROGER WILLIAMS' FATHER

Capt. G. A. Moriarty, Jr., contributes the following note from the Inquisitions Post Mortem, 3 Oct., 36 Eliza. (1595):

"Thomas Castell owns one messauge now in the tenor of James Williams in Long Lane in St. Sepulchres without Newgate, London." It will be remembered at a later date James Williams resided in a house on Cow Lane in St. Sepulchres without Newgate.¹

JEMIMA WILKINSON

The Society has just obtained a copy of a hitherto unlisted early American imprint entitled *Some Considerations Propounded to the several Sorts and Sects of Professors of this age*, by a Universal Friend to all Mankind. It is an anonymous pamphlet of 94 pages dated August, 1779, and "Printed in the year MDCCCLXXIX." It is one of the two books² ascribed to Jemima Wilkinson and was issued in a limited edition of only one hundred copies. This particular copy was handed down in the family of the sister of Miss Lucy Nichols of Warwick, the lady who financed the publication of the book. The book is of great interest as it throws light on the famous eighteenth century Rhode Island evangelist. From a comparison of this book with other contemporary works of Bennett Wheeler, it seems highly probable that *Some Considerations . . .* was printed by him at Providence.

REFERENCES TO JEMIMA WILKINSON

1. *History of Jemima Wilkinson*, by David Hudson. Geneva, N. Y., 1821.

¹R. I. H. S. C. XVI, 79.

²The other book is *The Universal Friend's Advice*, Philadelphia, MDCCCLXXXIV. It is reprinted in Cleveland's *History of Yates County*, N. Y., which also contains a portrait and biography of Jemima Wilkinson.

2. The same. Printed anonymously at Bath, N. Y., 1844. 288 pages and portrait frontispiece.
3. *Biography Jemima Wilkinson*. In *Omnium Gatherum*, January, 1810, vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 97-101.
4. *A Narrative of Thomas Hathaway and His Family . . . with Incidents in the Life of Jemima Wilkinson*. By Mrs. William Hathaway, Jr., New Bedford, 1869. 43 p.
5. *A Woman Fakir of Long Ago*. In *Providence Sunday Journal* for October 22, 1905, p. 29.
6. *Some Account of Jemima Wilkinson, a Celebrated Religious Imposter*. In *Providence Press*, June 3, 1874.
7. *Jemima Wilkinson, the Universal Friend*. By Rev. John Quincy Adams. In *Journal of American History* for April, May and June, 1915. This contains an additional list of references to her.
8. *Jerusalem the Golden*. By Robert Porter St. John. N. Y., 1926. 316 p.
9. Brief articles in the *Providence Patriot* for July 17, July 21 and September 18, 1819.
10. *Book Notes* (Providence, R. I.), vol. 33, pages 97-101 and 105.
11. *Providence Journal*, June 4, 1916.
12. *Carey's Mus.* 1, 150.
13. *Taits Mag.*, N. S. 12, 454 and *Ecl. Mag.*, 5, 546.
14. *Lend a Hand*, 10, 126.

The Charter and Regulations of the Artillery Company in the Town and County of Bristol in the State of Rhode Island, a leaflet of 19 pages, which was printed at Warren by Nathaniel Phillips in 1794, was presented to the Society, together with a large number of old Bristol newspapers and documents of historical interest, by the Rev. Anthony R. Parshley of Bristol.

The following lectures were held during the fall:
October 14, *Providence Stamps* by Mr. A. B. Slater.
November 18, *Heraldry in America* by Harold Bowditch, M.D., of Boston.
December 16, *Early Rhode Island Silversmiths* by Mr. William Davis Miller.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Marion P. Carter
Mr. Henry S. Chafee
Mrs. Lawrence B. Fogarty
Mrs. Dana Lawrence
Mrs. Louis C. Newman
Mr. Roger Hale Newton

Mrs. William H. Poole
Mr. Robert S. Preston
Lt. Col. John B. Richards
Mrs. Walter F. Seymour
Mr. Frederick B. Wiener
Mrs. C. Howard Wood

NEW BOOKS OF RHODE ISLAND INTEREST

Nailer Tom's Diary, otherwise The Journal of Thomas B. Hazard of Kingstown, Rhode Island, 1778 to 1840, with an introduction by Caroline Hazard, is a quarto of over 800 pages.

Nelson W. Aldrich, A Leader in American Politics, is a volume of 496 pages by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson.

The Stamps of the Providence, R. I., Postmaster, 1846-1847, by A. B. Slater is mentioned elsewhere in this issue of the COLLECTIONS.

Emblems of Rhode Island, being illustrations of the seals, arms and flags of Rhode Island with historical notes by Howard M. Chapin and an introduction by Norman M. Isham. This volume of 77 pages containing 96 illustrations was published by the Rhode Island Historical Society in a limited edition of 300 copies.

The Battle of Rhode Island, arranged from the work entitled, "Our French Allies," written by Edwin Martin Stone, is a pamphlet of 12 pages printed at Tiverton for the Portsmouth Free Public Library.

The Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, 1775-1781, which has recently been published in two volumes, contains an account of Lieutenant Mackenzie's stay in Rhode Island



KING PHILIP'S BEAD BELT

The history of this belt is printed on page six of the *Museum Illustrating the History of the State*, which is as published in 1916 by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

In the Society's Museum.

covering the period from June 2, 1777, to December 31, 1778, and comprising over three hundred printed pages of contemporary notes dealing with the American Revolution.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1930, contains an article on the parentage of Susanna Wright, the wife of Richard Pearce of Portsmouth, R. I.

There is an article on Robert Feke of Newport, the portrait painter, together with a checklist of his works in the October, 1930, issue of *Antiquarian*.

Miss C. Louise Avery's *Early American Silver* contains 22 pages on Rhode Island silversmiths and their work, together with several illustrations.

Frederick Cobbe Pitman and His Family, by Harry Anderson Pitman, is a volume of 67 pages privately printed in London in 1930. Captain Pitman was a British officer who came to Newport, R. I., in the eighteenth century and was married to Lydia Strengthfield of Newport in 1765.

The Eddy Family in America, compiled by Ruth Story Devereux Eddy, and printed in Boston in 1930, is a volume of 1372 pages containing much genealogical data of local interest.

The Calendar of State Papers for 1716 and 1717, which has just been issued by the British government, contains several references to the controversy over the appointment of the Governor of Massachusetts as Commander in Chief of the militia of Rhode Island.

Early American Furniture Makers, by T. H. Ormsbee, contains some account of John Goddard and other Rhode Island furniture makers.

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



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